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index finger under the intersection on the opposite palm. Using the lips, lift the loop from the back of each wrist so that it rests in front of all the fingers (fig. 8*b*). With each index catch the strings at A and pull them through the loops on each index while allowing the latter to slip off the dorsal side of the index. This forms a horizontal rectangle at the center which represents the cradle. This is narrowed by bunching the fingers of each hand. A little stick is thrust through this with the lips; this is the baby. Let slip the loops from each index finger. Pull the hands apart and the stick will fly toward one of them. (The resulting figure is shown in fig. 8*c*.) The hands represent two Old Women spirits (wlle'aḳak) fighting over the baby; the one who gets the stick wins.

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A second figure forms Tea'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy spirit. The loop is placed over the right thumb and the left thumb and index finger. Hold both strings against the palm with the three other fingers of the left hand. Insert the right index under the loop over the left thumb and index from the dorsal proximal side (i.e., from the direction of the wrist). Release the strings held by the other fingers of the left hand. This gives figure 8*d*.[123] . . . . The final figure showing Tea'ḳiaḳ is given by figure 8*e*.

The third figure, sunrise (sa'basdĭni'gi), is shown in figure 8*f*. Pulling the hands apart makes the middle loop stand as a triangular figure, representing the appearance of a mountain peak gradually emerging against the dawn. This construction is begun with the loop passing across the dorsal side of the left thumb and little finger and the palmar sides of the other three. Give the loop one complete twist (so that the ulnar string, e.g., of the left hand, is on the ulnar side at the right) and insert the thumb and little fingers of the right hand similarly. Pick up the palm loop of each hand from the proximal side with the opposite index. Hold the radial string on each index against the palm with the middle and ring fingers. Insert each index under the ulnar strings of each thumb from the proximal side, lifting the thumb loops off onto the indexes. Care must be taken to keep these loops at the tips of the indexes. Release the strings held by middle and ring fingers. With each thumb carry the radial string of the proximal loop on each index under (past the proximal side) the ulnar string on the little fingers. Bring back the thumb bearing a loop of this ulnar string. Slip little fingers out of the loops. (At this point my notes fail.)

[123] Unfortunately my field notes play me false: I cannot give the intermediate stages for either this or the following figure.

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II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tzko'tka) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

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One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

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Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sewa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djäkglëkgë'ka). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

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It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

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778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzûkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

• 776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

774 Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
·775 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

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the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are water-bugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kɛmŭ'kümps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

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There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wīle'zḳaḳ, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

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The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial list is made up from various data given by my informants. The animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (!wa'lḳŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcī'ktu), a little hawk (wī'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (ḳ!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (nāo'līns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djīske'gɛ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mɛnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

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There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[154] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djɛdje'lIstel, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wɛ.

Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[155] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wile'ɛkak, a dwarf old woman, Teakia'k, a little boy, and Gŏga'nɛ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwŏ'k!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wile'ɛkak is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wilă'ĕka, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

[154] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.
[155] 1:xcviii.

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wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'edi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[166] relate.

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There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently.

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ẓkaḳ. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'edi was going home. He saw the wile'ẓkaḳ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

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Tcaḳia'ḳ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcaḳia'ḳ. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcaḳia'ḳ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck.

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Gōga'nx are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

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This man saw a gōgna'nx while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gōga'nx carried her far off to a cave in the mountains.

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A gōga'nx came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

[166] Told by Nancy Phillips.

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but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gōga'nx.

Two little men, gōga'nx, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gōga'nx climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gōga'nx had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gōga'nx followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gōga'nx in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gōga'nx; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainâya, *to shiver, tremble*.

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[187]

776 [821] [823]

Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wlle'ɛkak's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wōkda'lla. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dŭnŏ'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

[187] Gatschet, 1:xeix, 163.

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This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati'a which stands at I'wal, and nē'ḳnūḳ, a group of stones back of Du"ilḳūt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nē'ḳnūḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nē'ḳnūḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Shamans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs. It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust their memories; but on request they could muster only four women shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

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756 562 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[155] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 796 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

[155] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-68) and also cited by my informant.

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A shaman, ḳiu'ksnag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately.

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows.

A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, teauwllō'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white shitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of teakia'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird).

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blade flies back and sticks into the mat. This performance is called stŏpawa'lc. 756

A variant of this was ascribed by Coley Ball to a shaman of years' standing. He performed it on each of the five nights, which a novice would never do.

I saw a shaman dancing in an earth-lodge. Then two men swung him around head down through the hatchway, each holding by a leg. Two men below held the ends of a string to which five obsidian blades were attached at intervals of a foot. He swallowed the blades and cord, and became unconscious. They rolled him in a mat, bound it, and slung the bundle under the slanting beams at the north side of the lodge so that his head was to the east. Then the women sang. Suddenly he cried, "ha," five times and with each cry a blade appeared stuck in the mat. But the cord was not seen again. They took him down and laid him on his bed. Then he began to sing.

The morning following this dance everyone except the shaman goes to bathe in spite of the ice that may be in the water. When they return to the shaman's house the food is brought inside and eaten. The shaman, however, must fast through the whole five-day period. The food, or at least the pond-lily seed, which has stood outside the lodge for twenty-four hours, is thought to be eaten first by the frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one else may. A young woman once went out to steal some; when she touched it, the pond-lily seeds turned to blood. This frog spirit is a big woman who is the principal spirit of every shaman. [776]

When a novice performs, the following four nights are given over to singing and dancing like that of the first day. Experienced shamans, however, show their power by filling all five nights with such performances. Each morning there is bathing and feasting, and on the fifth morning they return home. One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others.

Pat Kane stated that the shaman's winter performance, which he called ba'pie'nz, lasts only two nights and is solely occupied with singing. I probably misunderstood him.

Other shamanistic tricks are of the same order; various objects are swallowed, others are made to appear and vanish, or the stuffed animal skins in the lodge are brought to life. The tricks of plunging the bare arm into hot water and of walking on fire are unknown. During these performances no one walks about or talks except as he is directed by the shaman. These are all carried out in semi-darkness.

For the wood-swallowing trick, five, ten, or twenty small flat wooden splints, called wŏkda'lls (see above), shaped like arrowheads,

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after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old.

The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick.

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about *as in life*. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djŏ'klonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was

gle'gŏtk sne'en
dead one flying about
nanĕ'mbŏmba'ktianise'ĕn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around peeking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

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example, rather than local men whose secure position in the community may prove a boomerang to the accuser. No man would be called a witch (ḳoi'tsɛ) save one who is thought to possess scant ability to cure. Yet at least one instance was cited of the killing of a shaman of standing: he had repeatedly performed the fire-swallowing trick. Only one among the women shamans was credited with power to discover bewitching.[170] That they believe that only a shaman of great power can discover this or can send a spirit on a similar errand is a sure indication of the seriousness of the accuser's position.

There is a well defined procedure for discovering whether a spirit has been sent into the mountains roundabout by a malevolent shaman. Following the customary five nights' performance, the shaman leaves his lodge in the forenoon. He takes a position in front of a group of women who are to sing his song. He rushes about in an effort to catch the spirit, followed at a distance by five or ten men whom he has chosen. He runs all day; it is very difficult to catch. When he has it, he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. The runners seize him, a man holding each arm while he holds the spirit between his cupped palms. He plunges it into a basket of water, holding it submerged for a long time. Then he exhibits it, a tiny lizard, for example. During all this time blood gushes from his mouth; he can neither sing nor speak. Soon after this some powerful foreign shaman will die, for they have caught his spirit.

Similarly a powerful Klamath shaman may send his spirit among the Modoc, the Pit river tribes, or into another local Klamath group. Warm Springs, my informant thought, is too far away. This is done during the winter performance. No minor shaman can do this, only [776] those who have powerful spirits, animals that kill: for example, snakes, wolf, coyote, weasel, lizard, golden eagle, big black frogs (ko'wɛ), smaller frogs (wă'ḳătăs), and tiny ones with striped faces (le''eambŏ'tkĭs). The spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds are of no use in this connection, although I was told that a magically produced wind causes sickness. Spirit poisoning (bewitching) is called tawi'.[171] Disease is népaks, according to Gatschet.

[170] The case is described by Gatschet (1:64–68).

[171] There appears to be no word for poison, a noxious agent. Stĕ'tmus is the term applied to "poisoned" arrowheads, but these are obsidians from a certain magical source, and carry no venom. Spawu'ta is bait, such as fish bait and the bait used in traps, hence by extension it has come to include arsenic, for example, now used in poisoning bait. (Gatschet gives Modoc shpaútûsh, 1:18.) One cannot say he has been poisoned by the wild parsnip (ska'wŏṇks), only that he has eaten it: ska'wŏṇks ot pŏ'pgn.

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Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher (ɬwa'lḳŏtcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wŭ'mznŭks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars.

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Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains:

[539]

ya'mŏks dakŏ'loḡis tcŏmgi'as
north earth step forward.

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

[539]

mowa'ksda mŭlwa'nki
south get ready.

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kia, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

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This is the kâls-bird's fog (166, 22).
This is the female kals-bird's fog (166, 23).
I [the tchikass-bird] am wafted off from the mountain (157, 43).
I am the póp-tchikas-bird's song [or spirit] (167, 35).
Fearfully the wind blows underneath here[208] (157, 39).
The snow made by me, the talutsí wash-bird is ready to arrive (170, 60).
A flint-headed arrow I [the gáwi-bird] am ready to dispatch (163, 10).
White chalk is my [the nû'sh-tilananá sash-bird's] medicine-tool (167, 32).
I the little black female bird[209] am lost and strayed (163, 16).
I [the tsíxixi-bird] am singing about myself (170, 59).
I [the wipêlî'wash forest-bird] am singing my song [or am a spirit] (171, 70).
Of the sxíb-bird I am the song [or spirit] (168, 41).

Songs referring to frogs, lizards, fish, and bugs.

An old frog woman I sit down at the spring[210] (163, 9).
I the slow speckled snake [wû'mxnûks] am hanging here (157, 47).
This is mine, the black snake's, gait (165, 8).
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out (155, 19).
When I the [male] lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors (165, 14).
The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark (165, 13).
Which game did you play with me [the turtle]? (159, 58).
Now the wind gust sings about me, the little sucker fish (165, 6).
I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song [or am a spirit] (169, 57).
Here I [the yellow jacket] am buzzing around (165, 16).
I the bug,[211] I bite and suck (156, 28).

Other songs.

I the song [or spirit] am walking here (156, 31).
I am the song of evil (ko'idsi) (166, 25).

Songs referring to sickness and curing.

I the disease am meandering through the skies (162, 1 and note).
The pangs of hunger I carry about (169, 48).
I feel too bad for dancing (163, 12).
I carry pains about (168, 47).
What thing do I blow around? The disease I am blowing around in the air (156, 35).
Breath I am emitting[212] (157, 45).
What do I remove from my mouth; the disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out; it is the disease I am taking out (153, 4).

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[208] "Song of the tchiwitîtikaga-bird."

[209] Shaíxish-bird; elsewhere (169, 52) shaíkish is given as a name for Teakia'k, the little boy spirit. [276]

[210] "Songs by a companion of the old frog," but the frog spirit is an old woman herself.

[211] Shaíxish; but elsewhere Gatschet translates this as a little black female bird (163, 16) and as a bird called tchákiuks (169, 52) which is Teakia'k, the little boy spirit (see note above). [114]

[212] "Sung by the disease, found to live in water."

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What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by what little we know of them.

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By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north and south.[423]

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[424] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[425]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

[423] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[424] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–749.

[425] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[422] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

[422] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

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restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[496]

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "paina."[497]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

[496] Handbook, 882.
[497] *Op. cit.*, 63.

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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north.

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations.

Spirits

796

Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization.

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The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[459]

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

[459] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

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avian characteristics. The really unique group may be the Kwakiutl, for there supernaturals alone appear.[429]

A second specialized concept is found in northern California among Shasta, Yuki, and Maidu, at least. Shasta guardians are described as human in form, but "rather shorter than the ordinary stature." The Yuki "personal spirits are small, like boys, with gray hair." One of the Klamath guardians, which every shaman apparently has, is probably related to these. It is Teakia'k, "little boy," which frequents the water, is no bigger than a baby, and has hair falling to its waist. A Maidu may have various animal spirits, but the truly important ones are in appearance like people. To the Pomo there appears "a being, human and speaking one's own language but a stranger." Similarly some among Achomawi and Atsugewi spirits are "disease persons" or spirits in human form.[430] These concepts fall in with the animal and bird spirits. For although these supernaturals are human, they are not particularized like those of the Northwest Coast and are not restricted in numbers: on the contrary, they constitute an apparently large, undifferentiated class.

The feeling cannot be avoided that these manikin spirits are related in some way to the beings that appear to others of northern California. The Yurok dreams of a dead person, usually, if not always, a shaman; the Sinkyone sometimes of a dead relative. Yokuts spirits have quite another phrasing, but we should not overlook that among them are dead relatives.[431] These cases are rather obviously related to the inheritance of power by a visitation from a dead relative, but there seems also a continuum from the Shasta manikin to the Sinkyone ghost.

[114]

Kroeber has pointed out that there is a Yurok-Hupa substitute for the familiar spirit in the so-called "pains." This will be discussed below.

[114]

A note may be appended on certain Klamath spirits. Mention was made above of Teakia'k, a water dwarf. Dwarfs figure commonly enough among the mythological concepts of western Indians, but this one is specific: a dwarf living in or about the water. Gifford has

[429] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl, 304 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 291 f.; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 58 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Boas, Chinook Texts, 220, 230.

[430] Dixon, Shasta, 470, Northern Maidu, 265, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Kroeber, Handbook, 198; Freeland, Pomo Doctors and Poisoners, 63, 58. The spirits that help Quileute shamans restore souls are usually dwarfs (Frachtenberg, Eschatology, 335-7).

[431] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 149, 514.

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remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[423]. But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the ereeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[424] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[425]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[426]

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[426] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

[423] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[424] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[425] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[426] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[426] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

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THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

105 However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

776 The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787 things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756] possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881] life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later [765] life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	XF	XS
726 535	o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	½	2	1	2	6	–	–	–
	o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	–	–
	2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
[562]	2836. Shoot at human effigy	½	–	–	–	½	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
[533]	2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
	2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Painting, Headdress														
714	2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	½
	2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
	2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2844. White	+	+	+	½	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
	2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776]	2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
	2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
[30]	2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
	2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	½	–
	2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					½	½	½	–	–	–	–
	Procedure														
	Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726 [721]	2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
	2855. Prearranged encounters	½	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	2856. Surprise attacks	½	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	½	–	+
	2859. Use owl calls, etc.	½	+	+	–	–	–	½	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	½	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
	2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
	2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
	Captives														
727	2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	½	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2866. Women: young	+	+	½	+	–	–	+	½	½	½	–	–	–	–
	2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	½	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2871. Abused, mistreated	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–		+		+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–			–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+			–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–			–	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+				–	[787]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–				–	
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–			–	[538]
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+		+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+			–	[538]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			–	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–			–	[276]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–			–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+			–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	–			–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	[391]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+		+		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	–	–	–			–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–			–	[374]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient			–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+			–	[278]
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–							–						–	
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	[534]
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	+			–	
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–					–	+	–	–	–	–			–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–			–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+			–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–				–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	[562]
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–			–	
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–			–	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+		–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–			–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–			–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–				
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+			+		+	+	+	+	+	–			–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–				–	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–			–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–			–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5210. Shot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	–
5211. Hooked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	·		–	–
5212. In seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
†5213. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3		–	4
5214. Meat, salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
5215. Lie down, do not move	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
5216. In dance house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
5217. Instructed, taught	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
Impersonated Spirits																
5218. Moki (wüta)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+
5219. Wholly covered feather mat													+		–	+
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	R	4	–	+
5221. Woman (küla, dü, dadu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·		–	+
5223. Yat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5224. Sobe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5225. Yabe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5226. Koto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5227. Grizzly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5228. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5229. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	4
5230. Kuksu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5231. Ghosts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	(+)
Officials																
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4		–	+
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–		–	4
5234. Limo (wulu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·		–	+
5235. Tesegu, doorkeeper	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	4		–	+
5236. Fire tender, clown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4		–	+
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
Ceremonies																
5238. Hesi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	R	+	–	+
5239. Aki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	+
5240. Waima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+
5241. Grizzly bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–		–	+
5242. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	+
Dances																
5243. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)		–	+
5244. Goose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	+
5245. Condor (Moloko)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)		–	–
5247. Eagle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
5248. Thunder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	–
5249. Lole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
5250. With feather ropes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+
5251. Hilewa (hiwe?)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	–
5252. K'aima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
5253. Toto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	R		–	R
5254. Salalu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+		–	+
5255. Duck dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
5256. Kemu, keni (sweat dance)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	4

his doctoring pipe, feathers, and his pains up in mountains under rocks. "Lots of doctors stopped, especially the women doctors; they didn't like the smell of White people. They couldn't see anything any more; it [power] all left them." At: When extracted from patient, pain often pleads with curing shaman to be sent back to its owner, and not to be killed (chewed up, or burnt); curing shaman often makes pain tell him who sent it, and so on. AW: "Before pain [always referred to as "poison" among At, AW, AE] was a pain, it was some kind of a weed." Cf. note 4805. Shaman, in sending out pain, may smoke, blow smoke and pain toward victim; he tells his pain, "Now go," and pain goes and finds victim. Then pain listens to victim; "if he talks good, pain returns to doctor, tells him, 'I didn't hit him, he looks good.' Doctor may say, 'All right, if you want to save him.'" AE: Animal appears to person in dream or otherwise; gives that person song, and tells him what to use as his pain ("poison"); that pain can talk, and has a song, too.

4838. SE, SW: In head, heel, shoulder. WT, WM: In head. WS: In head or heart. "Doctor has to have a clean heart; his heart is the pain's home, and pain has to stay there as long as the man lives; he can't put pain away or get rid of it, if he wants to stop doctoring."

[756] [796] 4839. Kl, Mo, AE: Although shamans also acquire "pains" (see elements 4833 ff.), emphasis among these 3 groups is chiefly upon guardian-spirit helpers they acquire. SE, SW, At, AW: Emphasis shifts from guardian-spirit helpers to the "pains" themselves, which are always animate and can talk. AW: "If person acquires 10 kinds of powers [guardian-spirit helpers], he will be a doctor. [But must have "pain" to doctor.] Whenever doctor cries at funeral, he gets more power" (through dreams).

4846. SW: "Any animal people eat is nothing at all for giving one power for doctoring. Grizzly Bear, Timber Wolf help doctors; Coyote too; they all look like animals, but they call themselves after a mountain (Wolf) or a bush (Grizzly Bear) or some rocks (Coyote), when they announce themselves to doctors; they don't go by their ordinary names. Panther, deer, raccoon, badger, ground squirrel are nothing at all, because people eat them." WT: Power comes from small animals and flies, other insects.

4853. SW: "Rattlesnake can give power [but only in ancillary fashion]; but he doesn't talk to a doctor, or sing. You can see rattlesnake, though [during trance or faint], and get some power that way; but the only way a doctor uses rattlesnake is to use the skin for her pipe stem [decoration], or to wear the rattles. She never calls on rattlesnake to help her." MV: "Rattlesnake is main doctor."

4856. AE: "Frog--that's the boss of the doctors."

4870. Mo: Shaman has pole outside house, with bald eagle feathers, skunk skin and other skins

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. NS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] [776] [787] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman "interprets" what his spirit has told him to people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

[243-B]

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> Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[9]

*648 *657 793 796 177 178 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 *657 793 622 537 177 178 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 *657 796 177 178 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

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another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee."

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely undirected modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to register progress, the advance was evident. When that formulative period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their material wants had come to approximate those of their white neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, at least among the progressive, had made way for the more mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
778 the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
756 with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
776 the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
775 Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
775 dren must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4786.

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As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ă'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some inter-tribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-nkshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

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THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past,** though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Pri- [192] meval Old Man." The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old*, or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old*. He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father*. He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high*, though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined 776 in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate 772 the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

* In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múbu *owl* in Bannock is mû'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

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maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kû'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Kohásht as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them; also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham kä'k. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: skäk'sh p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tchâshkai.

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773 daughter is not given, but she represents the clouded or mottled evening
776 sky. When she leads him to the under-world they meet there a vast crowd
772 of spirits, who for five nights dance in a large circle around a fire, and on each of the intervening days are changed into dry bones. K'múkamtch takes with him some of these in a bag, and when reaching the horizon at daybreak throws the bones around the world *in pairs* and creates tribes from them, the Modoc tribe being the last of these. Then he travels in the path of the sun till he reaches the zenith, builds his lodge, and lives there now with his daughter.

776 K'múkamtch also figures as the culture-hero of his people; but since
773 he does so only in *one* of the myths which came to our knowledge, this myth may be borrowed from some neighboring tribe. In that myth the primitive arts and practices, as hunting and bow-and-arrow making, are taught by him to men, as was done also by Quetzalcoatl, by Botchika, and in Oregon by the Flint-Boy of the Kalapuyas, in whom the sun's rays were personified.

What the national myths relate of him is not of a nature to make him an object of divine veneration. He resembles men in every particular, is born and dies, acts like other Indians, travels about with companions, starts on gambling jaunts, is indigent and often in want, and experiences more misery throughout his eventful career than Zeus ever did on account of his illicit love-making. Like the chief gods of other Indian nations, he is the great deceiver and trickster for all those that have dealings with him, is attacked and drubbed repeatedly for his meanness and crimes; but after coming out "second best" or being killed over and over he recuperates and comes to life again just as if nothing had occurred to disturb him. Compared with other fictions representing powers of nature, he is fully the equal of such characters as Nanabozho and Gluskap, or of the Kayowē demiurge Sínti, "the Deceiver." Some of the most attractive fictions describe the various tricks and stratagems by which K'múkamtch allures his son Aíshish into perilous situations, from which rescue seems impossible. Prompted by him to climb a tall pine-tree, he would have perished on it by hunger had not his charitable wives, the butterflies, succored him in time. The general conflagration by which the earth and its inhabitants

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772 773 were consumed through a rain of burning pitch was also brought about by K'múkamtch's hatred for his son. Aíshish escapes from this inhuman persecution, and subsequently seeks to revenge himself upon his father. Aíshish's son jerks off the glowing tobacco-pipe from his grandfather's neck and throws it into the fire; Aíshish pushes it farther into the flames until burnt, and thereby K'múkamtch's death is brought about.

It is singular that when he and his son Aíshish are expected to join social or gambling parties the other participants always experience some difficulty in recognizing the one from the other. The camp-fire which K'múkamtch made on approaching the meeting-place was burning badly, the smoke seeming almost to stifle the flames; but that of his son, purple-blue in color, sent the smoke straight up, while the fire of Silver Fox, the companion of K'múkamtch, was yellow. When shooting at the mark, Aíshish's arrow hit it every time, but the arrow of K'múkamtch struck the ground short of the mark. While gambling, Aíshish became the winner of all his companion's stakes.

Assuming the mask of the Marten (Skē'l, Skē'lamtch), K'múkamtch sends out his younger brother, Weasel (Tcháshkai), to look out for one-eyed women and to bring them home as wives (Texts, pp. 107–118). Both try to stop the Northwind and the Southwind at the very orifice whence they are blowing. Weasel loses his life in the attempt, but Marten kills both winds. After Weasel has come to life again, both proceed to the lodge of the five brothers, the Thunders. When inside of the lodge Marten puts on the head-cover of the dead Northwind, and the Thunders feel his gigantic power. At night an internecine fight takes place between the brothers, and while their lodge is on fire their hearts explode in succession.

772 From the almost infinite wealth of Klamath folklore many more particulars about this chief deity could be adduced, but what stands above is amply sufficient to indicate the powers of nature which he represents. The facts that Wán or Wanáka, *the sun-halo*, is his constant companion* and that the seat in the sky which he constantly holds is that of the sun at

* The sun-halo is an important factor in some Indian mythologies. The Zuñi Indians say that when a storm is brewing the sun retreats *into his house*, which he built for his safety, and after the storm he leaves it again. Among the Zuñis the sun is the principal deity also.

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noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Şkē'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

* Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampē in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

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773 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head
776 he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents
772 the wintry sun.

[821] The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and
[821] dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal,
773 seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

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burning them. Our ideas of justice, equity, protection, or love towards men do not and can not enter into the spiritual range of a god whose prototype is constituted of physical powers only.

AÍSHISH.

Φαίνεταί μοι κήνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν.

Aíshish, or Aíshishamtch, the second in importance among the Klamath deities, and certainly the most popular of all, is the son of the world-creator, K'múkamtch, and also his companion and rival. He is beautiful in appearance, beloved and admired by men, and is the husband of many wives, selected by him among the birds, butterflies, and the smaller quadrupeds. His name signifies *the one secreted* or *concealed*, and was given him at the time of his birth; and since "The Birth of Aíshish" myth explains the nature and position of this deity better than any other myth, I translate it in full from the Indian text obtained from a Modoc woman at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory.* The name of Aíshish's mythic mother, as other natives informed me, is Le-tkakáwash. This is an Oregonian bird of the size of the tchō'kshash, or blackbird, with a brilliant red or yellow plumage, colors rarely found in birds of that western State. Ornithologists identify it with the Louisiana tanager: *Pyranga ludoviciana*. Thus the bird is an appropriate symbol of the bright sky at moonrise or sunrise, which phenomenon Aíshish's mother is representing. The myth runs as follows:

In order to cremate the body of an old sorceress, Le-tkakáwash gathered wood while carrying her baby son on the back, piled up the wood and set up the ceremonial mourning wail. Proposing to leap into the fire herself, she was uncertain what to do with her son. She fastened him tightly to her back, and when she had applied the fire K'múkamtch perceived that she was in tears and ready to leap into the burning pile. "What on earth is this pretty woman going to do?" said he to himself; and when he saw her retreat more than once before accomplishing the dangerous leap he approached, intending to reach her in time to restrain her; but she rushed

* The myth of Aíshish's birth forms a portion of a long cyclus of related myths, with the title: Aíshisham shapkalá'-ash wiulamnúlashti. I obtained them from Lucy Faithful, wife of Stutílatko, or "Faithful William;" cf. Dictionary, p. 412.

772 773 into the fire, and K'múkamtch, regretting to have arrived too late, managed, however, to withdraw from her back the baby, and to rescue it. He wept as he carried the child off in his arms. But where should he place it? If he placed it on his forehead it would look quite ugly, thought he; therefore he placed it on his knee and went home. He complained that he had an ulcer upon his knee, and asked his daughter to open it, for it pained him excruciatingly. She spread a sheet under the knee and another over it, to squeeze the ulcer open. He exclaimed: "It hurts me terribly! Go easy! Be careful!" Then she replied: "What is the matter with you? Something like hair comes out in a bunch from the core. Why does it look like hair?" And when the baby appeared on the surface and began to cry she said: "What have you been doing? I have suspected you for quite a while before!" And the babe cried and cried, until the "father" proposed to give a name to him. None was found to answer, for the child cried on and on. Then he proposed to call it Aishílam'nash ("the one secreted about the body"). This stopped its cries somewhat, but not entirely; so he proposed the name Aíshish, and then it became restful and quiet. So the child grew up with this name, then lived in the company of K'múkamtch, became an expert in making shirts, and when gambling won all the stakes, even from his father, who became jealous on account of his superiority.*

This is the extent of the myth so far as needed for our purpose. The jealousy of the grim and demoniac K'múkamtch against his more popular son forms the subject of a considerable number of Aíshish myths, which are highly imaginative and interesting. By various stratagems based on low cunning he brings his son into perilous positions, from which he is rescued only with the utmost difficulty by others, or is perishing in the attempt to save himself. Meantime he is robbed of his garments by his "father." These constant persecutions finally force Aíshish to revenge himself upon his father, who is killed by him repeatedly, but not by any means so often as he is killed himself.

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*The connection of the mythic *pyre* of self-sacrifice with the *dawn* is not only based on similarity of nature, but also on etymological grounds; for the verb nílka, *it dawns*, with slight vocalic change turns into nélka, nélga, *to be on fire*. Cf. the Latin *aurora*, which is a derivative of urere, *to burn*, and Appendix VI to Grammar, pp. 706, 707.

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773 Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color (yámnash-
776 ptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, pag. 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulíliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tcháshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

772 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish
773 to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who
776 has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
[821] attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (käkä'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

[821] The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

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772 773 776 821 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up everywhere during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher*, *feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 171 197 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar deities from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

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821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -pŭts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mân*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχ̣ōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχ̣ōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχ̣ōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

● 776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb tex̣u *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲ua *to knock to pieces.*

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776 [821] phized and too dimly defined to deserve the name "gods." Those among them that are most frequently mentioned in myths and popular stories are the genii of the Thunder and of the Winds.

773 776 821 The genius of the Thunder, Lĕmé-ish, is sometimes mentioned as a single person, or abstract mythic being, but more frequently as a company of five brothers, the Thunders or Lĕmelĕmé-ish. At times they make themselves formidable, for their terrible weapon is the lightning or thunderbolt; they cleave the mountains, rocks, and trees, kill, roast, and devour human beings, in which character they are called máklaks-papísh. The interior of their lodge is dark, for a sky obscured by a thunderstorm is lacking the full daylight. K'múkamtch entering the lodge, disguised as the "strong man" under the mask of Skē'l or pine-marten, annihilates them, for the winter sky with its cold blasts is antagonistic to the display of celestial electricity. The eldest of the Thunders is married to Skúle, the meadow lark, who is the sister of pine marten. After having made themselves thoroughly odious upon the earth, they were, as the myth tells us, relegated to the far-off skies, where they can frighten the people by their noise only and do no further harm.

The parents of the Thunders are supposed to live in a small hut or kayáta, and in their stead two dogs are often mentioned as accompanying the Thunders. Of these there are five, because the thunder rolling along the mountains is heard in *repeated* peals, and these peals are in the myths likened to repeated explosions of the Thunders' hearts. The shooting up of lightnings from the earth to the skies gave rise to the idea that their home is underground, and that the lightnings coming down from the skies are simply the Thunders returning to their homes. As the spirit of the Thunder Yayayá-ash is mentioned in a mythic tale.

The *Thunder-bird*, which plays so prominent a part in the myths of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes, does not appear here under this name, but is represented in some stories by the Raven or Kák.*

* The belief in the Thunder-bird is found more frequently among Northern than among Southern Indians. Cf. "The Thunder-bird amongst the Algonkins," by A. F. Chamberlain, Amer. Anthropologist, Jan., 1890, pp. 51–54; and my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," vol. 2, 49.

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YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

776 821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by Kák (the Raven, or storm-bird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gû'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KÄÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *Ἔρα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

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823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song
539 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Kla-
776 math people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klámath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lĕmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

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773 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went
776 with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures.
[177] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

773 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or
776 Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained
821 among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

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773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχă'-ash or "Big
774 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

Ἐκτέταμαι φοβερὸν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

[193] * Shû'kash is the substantive of sh'hû'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of hûka *to run about:* sh'huhóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hû'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

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775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

[787] The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow*, *soul*, and *ghost*.* The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some-
[787] where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

* In the Tonika or Túnižka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow*, *soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek εἴδωλον, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántû *soul* in the living being, u'dall' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter*, *ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

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775 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the [821] same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayáui. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

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776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

773 823 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

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77[6] 823 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

77[6] *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the [756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a [192] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainâya *to shiver, tremble*

[823 825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

77[6] 825 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

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776 chapters of ethnology which afford us the deepest insight into the thoughts
825 which guide the untutored reasoning of the so-called savages.

Wherever we find deities in the stage of imperfect anthropomorphism we are likely to find also deified animals in the stage of zoodemonism and not in that of zootheism or zoolatry. Where gods and goddesses have reached a fully anthropomorphic shape, which occurred in a few American nations only, there we also find priests, temples, ceremonies, oracles, sacrifices, and prayers; but where deities remain in the undeveloped condition of spirits and demons, propitious or malevolent to mankind, we may expect to see the natives deifying quadrupeds, birds, or snakes, instead of giving their gods the human form, which is the most perfect form of this world's creatures. For in many physical qualities animals surpass the human being. This excites the admiration of man in his ruder stages; he wonders at their cunning and shrewdness, and thinks them his equals in more than one respect. Why should he not express such feelings as these by reverencing them and including them in his unpolished and naïve, but pictorial and candid folklore stories?

It would be a mistake to assume that the animals which the folklore of the Indian in the hunter stage chiefly celebrates are game animals or such as are of material advantage to him. Folklore selects for its purpose such beasts which the hunting and fishing Indian, with his great practical knowledge of animate creation, admires above others for such qualities as their surprising sagacity, their wonderful agility, the love for their offspring, the help afforded by them by discovering the hidden causes of disease, the beauty of their skin or other covering, and the change in the coloring of their fur-skins wrought by the alternation of the seasons—or such animals as he dreads on account of their ferocity, their nightly habits, their power of bringing about storms, thunder, or rain-fall, and last, but not least, for their demoniac power of presaging future events, especially war, disease, and death. The great *scarcity* of certain animals is also a sufficient cause for introducing them into the popular stories.

The animals which form the subject of mythic stories and beast tales are pretty much the same as those mentioned in the magic songs of the medical practitioners, of which I have brought together a considerable collection in Texts, pp. 153–181. The birds get an unusually large share in

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these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwäsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kā'ls or kálχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceïba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Ṣkē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

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121 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in
77 polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or
• 776 the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

[801] The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

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773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

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NOTES.

*539 773 [825] In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became connected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous, whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the "indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible; while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own *539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last 773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game 192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátʒûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -idshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gû'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hã hã. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wáknitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tʒéwag or tʒéwaga, diminutive of tʒé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchni), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ká-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gi'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

*539 825 787 Kák tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa kákam tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán kák máklaks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787 Tutíksh máklaks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashúmoksham;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 777 825 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tă'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lakí, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skt's; tsúi máklaks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwáshaun
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
9 tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tcbáséš, wí-udsish k'läká, tsúi kó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the shore said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpële túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
12 m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777 Hä shaklō'tkish pt'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
kaítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa paháp kash, pē'tch ktákta skä'tlsh
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
15 tapí'dshnish vumí'; húnashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, kaítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mä'ntchnish máklāksăm shtáp shuálka, paháp kash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
18 tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 776 779 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lákiash, shtínta tchísh wengáp-
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, rovers also of the de-
kam shkō'kshash.
ceased the spirits.

000 21 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlaka káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta ká-i tchû'lēks pän.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

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*539 533 755 192 [825]

162; 4. Of the yaúyal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.

162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776]

163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnías, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

*539 533 755 [115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gĕ'-ish kápa ⏑ – – ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – –

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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*539 533 755

70. *Song of the little wipĕlī́wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕlī́wash nû shuī́sh gī,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuī́sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû́ sáwals, ⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. ⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinŏ́tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

*539 533 755 192

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû́ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[776] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

[193]

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ́n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

[821]

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

In a recent study[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

[1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

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To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and, finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

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Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

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178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

787 881 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power 785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, 533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word */ɨuw'i·s/* meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on 787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from 177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior 797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and 776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' 823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I 774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over 787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I 723 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a 797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

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Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

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773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
[797] years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

[113] [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

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That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back. That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

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723 776 177 [793] shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival, the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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the prehuman world, when everything spoke and had life (as Mrs. Ohles put it). The primordial human inhabitants of this world (the /pəwdiwa·s/) are only casually mentioned, and the main figures are the mighty culture-transformers Gmoḱamč, čečte·sis, and Sqeĺamč. The last two may be alternate names for the same figure, and the informants translated both freely as "Old Marten" or "Old Mink." These beings travel through the world, meeting monsters and inimical beings and destroying them, teaching the /pəwdiwa·s/ how to live, and aiding those in trouble. Texts 19 and 20 contain incidents involving hostile, powerful beings and modern humans. Text 21 seems to involve modern humans also, but may refer to the /pəwdiwa·s/.

The second part of the Texts contains material on food-gathering, historical occurrences, ethnographic descriptions, autobiographical incidents, etc. Text 38 consists of a free conversation between two informants and the author.

The translation of these texts presented considerable difficulties. To render the Klamath morpheme by morpheme—or even word by word—is, of course, impossible. This necessitated the addition of whole new phrases, at times, in order fully to cover the Klamath meaning. An attempt was made to keep the Klamath phrase junctures (/./, /./, etc.) intact, although this has sometimes produced sentences which are thoroughly un-English.

Some of the Klamath material has been translated with great freedom. This is particularly true of the series of particles (sentence-connectives, etc.). Such sequences as /čoy/, /čoy honk ʾat/, /čoy čik/, /čoy da·ts/, etc., have been rendered as "So," "And," "Then," "So then," "And then," "So now," etc. The full force of these elements cannot be rendered into English without making the English sentence unintelligible. Forms like /či honk/ (lit. "as it") and /naʾas gi/ (lit. "thus did, thus made") have been freely translated as "(he) said, says," since this is the nearest English parallel of their use in Klamath.

Material in the translations which did not seem entirely justified from the Klamath alone has been inserted into the English enclosed in [. . .].

Parentheses have been employed in the Klamath to enclose English interpolations, asides to the investigator, etc.

Quotation marks have been used with several distinct purposes: (1) to enclose direct speech—material quoted by the speaker as being the speech of another (there is nothing in the phonemics to indicate this, but it is done for clarity's sake); (2) to enclose words quoted from the other language (i.e., words from English used in the Klamath, and words from

#539 dak honk hasanwis, sa sqoldatqńa sa honk, čoy sa honk geaga hasanwis, qwa·t honk sagwačdangatk hokt. (39) čoy sa honk s?aywakta homas, gaga·ńa hok homas. (40) čoy honk ni domna na?as ket.[97]

21. The Bear
(Mr. Robert David)

(1) nent ni be·n Na·s wiḱa·ńs s?abwapk, kant ni s?aywakta. (2) honk čik ni ho·akanga ḱečča. (3) ga·?a·k ni nen domna na?as, do·s honk ?ewksi do·s hak hi·t—čoy ḱičḱa·ńs honk loq̓a·k sńoga·. (4) čoy honk maqlaqs ksepgabli gina·daĺ, do·st ho·t mbosaksawa·s gida. (5) čoy goni· hi·t, lobaqaksi či sa hon ?elgank hi·t, goge wiḱa·t. (6) hi·t hok domi··· maqlaqs či·ya·, wqepĺaqsdat, na·nok dwantdat. (7) hi·t maqlaqs či·ya· ga·?a·k, loldam gin. (8) čoy hok hi·tkni· hok maqlaqs. (9) ?at honk hokt s?aywakta, loq hok, gatbamblyok hadakt do· q̓e·gist mna ḱičḱa·ńs. (10) čoy honk gweys sam haYčipga ?at.

(11) čoy honk s?aba· q̓oye·wank q̓a···, hokt loq, sńewe·ts hok. (12) čoy honk na?as, "kańs sitk nis sa gen," či honk, "kat no· čis swaq̓a·-delwas pe·watk," na?as honk.[98] (13) "no·č dak swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk, "spodo·tgiwk hon," na?as honk. (14) na?as honk sdalta, "spodo·tk ni hadakt, ?ambotdat do·st hok qwa·ťatk ?ambo, q̓ay hadakt kani q̓a gatbant. (15) čoy honk hompči na?as hok ?elgank, "swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk. (16) ?at honk s?awi·gok, na?as gi.

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[124] [176] [97]Mr. David changed to English after finishing this text and related some further incidents about the Gaga·ńa. They were tiny people, he said, who dressed strangely and were sometimes naked. They lived out in the timber but were especially numerous around Summer Lake (/?iwwa/). They were seen not only by the Klamaths but by other tribes and by white men as well. He described one such occurrence in his youth, when a white man driving a team of horses on "the mountain" (Crater Lake?) was stopped by a tiny little man who clung to the wheel of the wagon. All the strength of the horses was insufficient to move him. Mr. David mentioned a further occurrence in which a Paiute saw a group of Gaga·ńa playing in a meadow and thought they were children. When he tried to pick one up, he could not lift it, and its body was hard and rock-like.

[193] [98]Mr. David did not know the exact location of /swaq̓a·delwas/. This word seems to contain (d^{0}l) 48-v "to look," (ew) 10ev "into the water, flat place," and the noun ending (s). The sequence /swaq̓a·/ is unanalyzable.

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Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds."

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

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29. Menstruation Practices
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 776 787

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]